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COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

--PART 9--

Student Groups, Distributors, and Propagandists

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

JUNE 11 AND 12, 1958

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *
(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

The Kremlin-controlled international Communist-propaganda machine is bombarding student and youth groups in the United States and throughout the free world with a flood of multilingual propaganda, according to Irving Fishman, Deputy Collector of Customs in New York City, who testified in the course of public hearings held by the Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D. C., on June 11 and 12, 1958.

Although over one-half million pieces of Communist propaganda destined for student and youth groups enter the United States monthly, none of this material is labeled as Communist, or registered as required under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, because the Soviet apparatus has adopted the devious tactics of channeling it into the United States through non-Communist countries, Mr. Fishman pointed out.

Mr. Fishman asserted that there are two principal Communist-inspired international youth groups. The first is the International Union of Students, founded in 1946, with headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia, which has branches in most countries; and the second group is the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which claims over 85 million members in 97 countries of the world. Mr. Fishman's testimony was a result of a study on the subject matter which he made in Europe at the request of Chairman Francis E. Walter.

In the course of the hearings, the committee interrogated Sam Pevzner of New York City, who identified himself as a free-lance writer, but who refused to answer any questions respecting Communist Party membership and activities, and refused to comment respecting a number of articles bearing his name as author which have appeared in Communist publications.

The committee likewise interrogated Annette T. Rubinstein, of New York City, who identified herself as a free-lance writer, a lecturer, and a former teacher. Miss Rubinstein likewise refused to answer any questions respecting Communist Party membership and activities, or to comment respecting a number of exhibits which were displayed to her bearing her name as a participant in several Communist enterprises. Boris Cohen, of New York City, testified that he was an owner of the Prompt Printing Press, Inc., which has over the course of many years printed several Communist publications. Mr. Cohen testified that he was not a member of the Communist Party as of the time of the hearings and that he had not been a member of the Communist Party since 1949.

Thomas J. Brandon, of New York City, president of the Brandon Films, Inc., testified with respect to certain films from behind the Iron Curtain which his company distributes in the United States and which are imported by Artkino Films, Inc., which is registered as a

foreign agent under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Mr. Brandon testified that, although his company distributes Iron Curtain motion pictures which are imported by a registered agent, his company, the Brandon Films, Inc., is not itself within the purview of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Nathan B. Lenvin, Chief of the Registration Section of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice, testified that under the present interpretations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the agent of an agent of a foreign principal who disseminates Communist propaganda is not required to register under that act unless the organization with which such agent of an agent is dealing is in fact a foreign principal. Mr. Lenvin made certain suggestions to the committee respecting amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

—Part 9—

Student Groups, Distributors, and Propagandists

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11, 1958

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 1:35 p. m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, Morgan M. Moulder of Missouri (appearance as noted), Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana, William M. Tuck of Virginia, and Gordon H. Scherer of Ohio (appearance as noted).

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; Frank Bonora, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

The purpose of these hearings here in Washington today and tomorrow is to inquire further into the highly efficient and dangerous propaganda machinery of the Communist conspiracy. This committee, which has been carefully examining this subject through investigations and hearings in major cities of our Nation, has received extensive evidence regarding huge amounts of Communist propaganda imported into the United States from Iron Curtain countries and the distribution of this subversive material to large segments of our society, to the Communist-dominated foreign-language press, to certain United States printing houses and Communist Party bookshops. These investigations and hearings have revealed the need for strengthening existing legislation designed to identify and label Communist propaganda which is being disseminated in this country.

The instant hearings will deal not only with imported Communist propaganda but also with American distributors of Iron Curtain propaganda, American propagandists for the Communist conspiracy and American printers of Communist propaganda. Under present interpretations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act domestic distributors holding contracts with agents of a foreign principal are not always required to register. By the device of removing themselves one step from the source of the propaganda, certain Communist dis-

tributors escape the requirement to disclose pertinent information to the Department of Justice. American printers of Communist propaganda are similarly situated insofar as Federal scrutiny is concerned. These and related matters of equal significance are expected to be covered in these hearings.

At this point, I wish to incorporate in the record the authorization of the House Committee on Un-American Activities for this series of hearings.

(Excerpts from the minutes of the committee meeting held May 21, 1958:)

RESOLUTION FOR WASHINGTON HEARINGS, JUNE 11-12, 1958

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Be it *Resolved*, That a hearing by the committee or a subcommittee thereof, be held in Washington, D. C., beginning on the 11th day of June 1958, or on any other date fixed by the chairman of the committee, and that the staff be authorized to conduct investigations deemed reasonably necessary in preparation thereof, relating to the following subjects, and having the legislative purposes indicated:

"1. Entry and dissemination within the United States of foreign Communist Party propaganda, the legislative purpose being to determine the necessity for, and advisability of, amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act, designed more effectively to counteract the Communist schemes and devices now used in avoiding the prohibitions of the act;

"2. Execution by administrative agencies concerned of laws requiring the listing of printing presses and machines capable of being used to produce or publish printed matter, in the possession, custody, ownership or control of the Communist Party or Communist fronts, the legislative purpose being to assist Congress in appraising the administration of title 50, United States Code, section 786 (6), and in developing such amendments to the Internal Security Act of 1950 as it may deem necessary;

"3. The diffusion within the United States of subversive Communist propaganda for the purpose of obtaining additional information for use by the committee in its consideration of section 16 of H. R. 9352 relating to the proposed amendment of section 4 of the Communist Control Act of 1954, prescribing a penalty for knowingly and wilfully becoming or remaining a member of the Communist Party with knowledge of the purposes or objectives thereof.

"4. Any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof appointed to conduct this hearing, may designate."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arens, will you call your first witness?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, kindly stand while the chairman administers the oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand.

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FISHMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING FISHMAN

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself, sir, by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. FISHMAN. My name is Irving Fishman. I live in New York. And my official assignment is with the Treasury Department, Bureau of Customs.

Currently, however, I have been on special assignment to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, in order to abbreviate some of the preliminary testimony, may I ask you if it is not a fact that in the recent past the chairman of this committee, Mr. Walter, designated you as a special consultant to the committee and arranged for you to go to

principal capitals in Europe for the purpose of ascertaining certain information? Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you go?

Mr. FISHMAN. London, England; Paris, France; Berlin, Germany; Rome, Italy.

(Representative Moulder entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ARENS. Is it a fact, Mr. Fishman, and I am again trying to abbreviate some of the testimony, that you contacted in the central capitals of non-Communist countries in Europe, your counterparts in security work, who were instrumental in giving you certain information concerning which you are to testify?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, you have previously testified at length before this committee on several occasions, respecting Communist propaganda which comes into the United States from Iron Curtain countries; have you not?

Mr. FISHMAN. I have.

Mr. ARENS. And Communist propaganda which comes into the United States from Iron Curtain countries, in general, is subject to scrutiny by the Customs Service, and is subject, in many instances, to certain provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. But the chairman of this committee and you in consultation were concerned about Communist propaganda which originates in Iron Curtain countries, but which is transshipped into the United States from the non-Communist countries, that is correct—is it not?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Under the existing law and regulations is Communist propaganda which comes into the United States from friendly countries subject to any scrutiny by the Customs Service or subject to any of the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. FISHMAN. I would like to explore that very briefly.

Actually the Foreign Agents Registration Act concerns itself to some degree with the agency relationship between the sender of this material to the United States and the foreign government itself. Following this principle the Department of Justice in an opinion sent to the Treasury Department and to the Post Office Department said that it may be presumed that political propaganda sent from the Soviet bloc countries to the United States has its source in the Soviet Government and the Soviet bloc countries' governments. But on the other hand, the Justice Department has advised the Post Office Department and the Treasury Department that with regard to such propaganda emanating from friendly nations, it is necessary to establish an agency relationship.

Now, since that would be almost impossible without making an investigation in each instance, we limit our examination on all of this material coming from friendly countries.

Mr. ARENS. As a practical matter, then it is true, is it not, Mr. Fishman, that all of the propaganda which comes from Iron Curtain countries, but which is transshipped via friendly countries, comes in

without scrutiny or without processing pursuant to the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. So the record may be clear in an introductory manner, may I also ask you if the chairman did not in like manner solicit you in this study which you have made abroad with the security agencies of the friendly governments to develop and procure information respecting the worldwide Communist youth activities?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly at the outset give us a word as to the volume of Communist propaganda which is coming into the United States now from non-Communist countries, but which originates, in the first instance, in Communist countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. It would be extremely difficult to estimate this volume, for the reason just explained. Under ordinary circumstances, printed material and all other books, magazines and literature emanating in friendly countries receives ordinary customs treatment for the purposes of determining dutiability and so on. We do not subject this material to the same type of scrutiny that we do printed material emanating from the Soviet bloc countries.

Accordingly, since most of this material is passed at the the forty-five-and-some-odd ports of entry where we have no propaganda control units, we would merely be estimating. I would assume from observations made that it reaches astronomical figures.

Mr. ARENS. Did you converse with the authorities in the police agencies in these principal capitals in Europe with respect to any control they may be undertaking to exercise over this Communist propaganda which is being processed via their countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. What was the estimate, or what were their observations with respect to the quantity of this material?

Mr. FISHMAN. The foreign governments with whom this general situation was discussed pointed out that they had no legislation comparable to the Foreign Agents Registration Act. They had no requirement that an agent of a foreign government register with the government in which the entry was made. Neither was it necessary for these foreign agents to keep these governments apprised of their activities.

Their concern, of course, was with any propaganda material which advocated the overthrow of the particular country. They did know and did point out that there were in the respective countries many wholesale and retail establishments where all Communist propaganda material could be purchased for domestic consumption and for export to the United States.

Mr. ARENS. How many establishments did you visit within the principal capitals of Europe which were developing or processing Communist material?

Mr. FISHMAN. In each country in the company of government officials and in some areas as a tourist, I visited from 3 to 5 bookshops where all of the material such as we have previously discussed at our hearings was available for sale, either in retail or wholesale quantities.

Mr. ARENS. This is material which has been printed or developed in the Iron Curtain countries and processed through the non-Communist countries, is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes. In some areas the bookshops were directly associated with Soviet Union Governments.

Mr. ARENS. In addition to this material, are there two other general classes of material coming into the United States, Mr. Fishman, namely, material which comes directly from Iron Curtain countries to the United States and, secondly, material which is developed, in the first instance, in a non-Communist country and sent into the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Foreign Agents Registration Act cover the material which is developed in a non-Communist country?

Mr. FISHMAN. From the standpoint of control of importation, it does not.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us a word about the general appraisal by the security officers abroad of the volume of this Communist material which is coming into the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. In most countries these officials were loath to estimate the volume. In 1 or 2 instances they mentioned the regular receipt of quantity shipments in lots of 5,000 each and upwards.

Mr. ARENS. What is your general appraisal on the basis of your study of this problem in the course of the last several months as to the probable quantity of this material which is coming into the United States regularly?

Mr. FISHMAN. It would be very difficult to make such an estimate. I would assume on the basis of our past experience that at any given port of entry there would be at least 15,000 to 20,000 individual pieces of printed matter which arrives indirectly from the Soviet bloc countries.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time?

Mr. FISHMAN. Each month.

Mr. ARENS. And would that be true in each of the forty-odd ports of entry?

Mr. FISHMAN. My statement is based on my experience in many of the areas which I visited personally. It is safe to assume that since the propaganda program covers every area of the United States that that would be true.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, as to this propaganda material which is coming into the United States, does the recipient pay the total cost of publication?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. Most of these publications sell for a very nominal sum, and my estimate would be that it does not cover more than perhaps 5 to 10 percent of the actual cost of the publication.

Mr. ARENS. Does this material in every instance indicate to the reader that it is Communist material as such and created by the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. FISHMAN. No; not at all. As a matter of fact, first indications are that it may be published in the language country, actually. If it was printed in Spanish it might give the impression as having emanated in a Spanish-speaking country, French language in France, and so on.

Mr. ARENS. So the recipient of this material would not know, unless he were thoroughly expert in the Communist line and Communist objectives that he had material which was developed by the Communists and spewn into this country; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Is this material under present interpretations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act subject to any inspection or labeling?

Mr. FISHMAN. From the friendly countries?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. FISHMAN. No.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us if you are conversant with the provisions of the omnibus security bill introduced by the chairman of this committee, Mr. Walter, H. R. 9937?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

(Representative Scherer entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ARENS. What suggestions do you have regarding H. R. 9937 so as to meet this situation which you have discussed?

Mr. FISHMAN. The necessity for establishing this agency relationship I spoke of would, in my opinion, require a further amendment of the act to define as an agent of a foreign government anyone who sends political Communist propaganda to the United States. The present significant amendments, as I see it, have to do with the labeling of this material and I think that the amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act would very materially assist in our efforts to control Communist propaganda material.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly give us a word with respect to the principal countries through which this Communist propaganda is coming without any scrutiny or without any impact by the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. FISHMAN. Well, I would include all of the European countries, friendly countries, and we are more particularly at this moment concerned with a great deal of this material which comes into the United States through Canada.

Mr. ARENS. What is the quantity or the best estimate you can make as to the quantity of the material which comes into the United States through Canada?

Mr. FISHMAN. There are thousands of such publications involved. I do not have the figures.

Mr. ARENS. Are these thousands of publications individual publications?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are they Communist publications?

Mr. FISHMAN. They all expound the Communist doctrine, but since they very carefully avoid the place of origin, I wouldn't know just where they were printed.

Mr. ARENS. Who are the principal recipients of this Communist propaganda which is coming into the United States via the non-Communist countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. Individuals, for the most part, people engaged in mining work, manufacturing, industry, and of course in almost every instance the student groups in the colleges and universities and secondary schools in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. In what languages is this Communist propaganda prepared?

Mr. FISHMAN. In some instances, in 6 or 7 languages.

Mr. ARENS. And to what countries other than the United States, is this Communist propaganda destined?

Mr. FISHMAN. Our experience shows that a good deal of this material is intended for the Latin American countries.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any idea as to the quantity of the material coming from the non-Communist countries into Latin America?

Mr. FISHMAN. Some time ago we made some inquiry into the transshipment of this material through New Orleans, Louisiana, and we found that there were thousands of bags of mail each day which came from South American countries through New Orleans into other South American countries.

Mr. ARENS. What class of postage is applicable to this Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. Most of it comes parcel post, fourth-class mail.

Mr. ARENS. And it is not subject to inspection, is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. No.

Mr. ARENS. And it is never labeled; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us just a word, please, Mr. Fishman, before we move on to the next general subject which we want to pursue with you, namely, students and student organizations over the world—give us just an idea, please, sir, of the type of material which comes in from the standpoint of subject matter and content?

Mr. FISHMAN. The general class of propaganda hasn't changed except for the fact that it has become more subtle. It, of course, touches on most of the significant matters before the American public. It presents views from a Communist standpoint.

Mr. ARENS. Go right ahead, please, sir.

Mr. FISHMAN. And of course it presents the situation in the Communist countries as being one round of good times, peace and prosperity, sufficient employment for all, and no one has any problems, and there are no difficulties at all.

Of course, many of these publications recently have taken up the situation in Latin America. New Times, for example, in the last several issues has discussed the problems which confronted Vice President Nixon, and offered comments as to the reasons as well as the basis for the resentment of his visit.

Mr. ARENS. What is the principal line, or what are the principal lines of this Communist propaganda material?

Mr. FISHMAN. The propaganda machine must have a whipping boy which changes from time to time. Currently, there is a good deal of effort being made to deal with the nuclear testing problem and voluminous material has been printed and sent to the United States, all dealing with this subject.

Another very significant piece of propaganda now deals with the objections to colonialism, and we have a good deal of material here this morning which points up the efforts made to arouse interest in both of these issues.

I wondered if you wanted this comment, which appeared in the New Times on the Vice President's visit?

Mr. ARENS. If you please, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. What magazine is that?

Mr. FISHMAN. This is New Times, printed in the Soviet Union.

Mr. WILLIS. Printed in the Soviet Union?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes. This is a weekly journal. It is printed in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Polish, Czech, Ru-

manian and Swedish. And the little caption here says "The Unwanted Guest." [Reading:]

Vice President Richard Nixon has taken advantage of the invitation to attend the inauguration of President Arturo Frondizi of Argentina to visit seven other South American countries. He has already been in two of them—Uruguay and Paraguay.

American papers say he has been entrusted with the delicate mission of dispelling, or at least mitigating, the strong anti-United States sentiment prevailing in these countries.

It goes on:

The Vice President has done his level best to convince the Latin Americans of Washington's "good will" toward their countries. In his speeches in Parliaments, universities, and at banquets he has been painting a rosy picture of the policy followed by the United States in this part of the world and has been generous with promises.

But the South Americans are sick and tired of Washington's promises. Their public and business leaders asked Nixon to explain why the United States was pursuing a policy detrimental to their countries' economies, why it was interfering in their internal affairs; and why it was supporting reactionary dictatorships.

But it was perhaps in Buenos Aires and Montevideo that Nixon felt most uncomfortable, for, according to papers hundreds of people in these two capitals greeted him with boos, whoops, and shouts of "Go home, Nixon."

In the next issue, of course, they followed Mr. Nixon into Uruguay and Paraguay, and this comment about President Eisenhower's efforts to raise the spirits of the Vice President by praising his courage, patience, and calmness, ends with:

What encouragement for American leaders on good will missions to their southern neighbors.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Fishman, I should like to invite your attention to the next general area of your inquiry, made at the behest of the chairman of this committee, namely, the world Communist student activities, or organizations and propaganda destined principally to capture, control, the student organizations and the students' minds.

Would you proceed, at your own pace, please, sir, at the outset to give us a little background and history of the world Communist student organization?

Mr. FISHMAN. The propaganda machine overlooks no one and begins its program with the very young. We have been able to obtain publications in some of the bookshops abroad and we have seen many sent to the United States which approach communism and the Communist doctrine beginning with comic books and little fairy tale books and winding up with learned material for the students in the colleges and universities.

I have some samples of these which I would like to go into a little later, but I wanted to point out, first, that there are two major organizations that deal with student activities on a world wide basis. One is the—

Mr. ARENS. You mean Communist organizations?

Mr. FISHMAN. Communist-inspired organizations.

They are very careful to avoid any mention of the fact that they have been inspired and also sponsored by the Communist propaganda machine. That, however, is very obvious from the material, and the approach to most of the problems that these publications take.

There are two important organizations and these are the ones we would like to deal with. The first is the International Union of

Students. This is a group that was founded in 1946 and its headquarters are located in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

The group, according to its constitution, considers itself as representing all the students of the world. Its gatherings have been held over the years in major cities and the several Soviet bloc countries. Its constitution proclaims that this group will "build again a better world, desirous of liberty, peace and progress to take that place in the vanguard of the youth of the world which we have held so often before in the course of history."

The purpose of the group, again as stated in this constitution, is to be an indispensable aid in the relationship of a just and lasting peace and equality of all peoples and it purports to defend the rights and interests of students to promote improvements in their welfare and standards of education, and to help in preparing students for their tasks as democratic citizens. One of its aims is to achieve unity of all student movements in all countries.

Mr. ARENS. How many countries does it operate in?

Mr. FISHMAN. According to the publicity it operates in all countries and encompasses every language, every school, regardless of where it is situated.

Mr. ARENS. How many constituent members are there, or how many affiliates are there?

Mr. FISHMAN. Well, the IUS doesn't list the number of students in this group, but the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which is the associated group, claims 85 million members in 97——

Mr. ARENS. These are 85 million separate students?

Mr. FISHMAN. In 97 countries.

Mr. ARENS. In 97 countries tied in with this group which is a Communist-controlled student group; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Go right ahead, please, sir.

Mr. FISHMAN. The constitution provides that its members are obliged to accept——

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have any figures as to how many students there are in the United States that belong to this group?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. No; I do not have that information. It would be almost impossible to estimate. What happens, actually, is that the International Union of Students, as well as the World Federation, claims an association with practically every school and every student organization in the United States. Many of the students' organizations have permitted this claim because they are completely unaware of the type of organization that is involved here.

Mr. ARENS. Is the literature of this Communist-controlled organization beamed into the principal schools and colleges of the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. Oh, yes. We have supplied to the committee on a confidential basis lists of names and addresses which show that copies of this material—and there are very many publications, individual publications, printed by both of these groups—have been addressed to almost every school in the United States and to every student group in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. And this is Communist material coming into the United States outside the purview of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. I was just going to make a very brief summary of this IUS and its activities.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately how many recipients in the United States, individual recipients, are there on the aggregate mailing lists who receive this Communist material, that is, student groups and students?

Mr. FISHMAN. I would say 25,000, I would estimate of each publication—between 25,000 and 50,000 are sent to the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Of each publication?

Mr. FISHMAN. Of each publication.

Mr. ARENS. How many publications are there?

Mr. FISHMAN. The publications of IUS, for example, include News Service, IUS News, Student Sports, Medical Students, Agricultural Students, press communications, and many individual publications. I have some samples of them here which cover almost every field.

Mr. ARENS. Would you say that there are approximately a dozen publications, separate publications, a month that come in from this international student organization?

Mr. FISHMAN. At least.

Mr. ARENS. Would you say that substantially each of those has the same circulation as the other?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Then you would have, roughly speaking, 12 times 50,000; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. A month?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Coming into the United States which would mean about better than a half a million a month; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Beamed to the schools and colleges and student groups in the United States; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. And does this material on its face indicate that it is material of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. FISHMAN. Oh, no; quite the contrary. It claims to have been printed by the International Union of Students, but there is no indication that there is any Communist country interest. The publication itself is just an ordinary pamphlet. These are some of them.

Here is one on Algerian students. Here is another one, Students Say No. This deals with the atomic testings. The Struggle of the Cypriot Student. The Struggle Against Thermonuclear Weapons as an Attack on the Church.

Mr. ARENS. The material you have in your hand, Mr. Fishman, presently, those several copies are all in English; are they not?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. In addition do they have comparable material which is beamed to other student groups over the world in other languages?

Mr. FISHMAN. Oh, yes. Recently there have been many multi-lingual publications. Here is the most recent: Education Students. It is printed in three languages—English, French and Spanish. It

is just 1 publication, with 1 page in English, 1 page in French, and 1 page in Spanish.

Mr. ARENS. Now, do you have an indication, Mr. Fishman, of the financing of the international Communist student operations?

Mr. FISHMAN. The constitution purports to show that the financial resources of IUS are derived from subscriptions paid by member organizations and from sources arising out of student activities. There isn't any doubt, however, that the group is subsidized financially by the Soviet propaganda machine.

It is interesting to note in one of these more recent publications that they give some figures on how much the group was able to raise—some \$228,000 in their treasury at the time.

Mr. ARENS. Is that one of the student groups controlled by the Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. That is the world fund of what organization?

Mr. FISHMAN. This is the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the second group I mentioned.

Mr. ARENS. What publication are you reading from?

Mr. FISHMAN. This is the report of the executive committee held in Budapest, February 12–15, 1958.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us, Mr. Fishman, in connection with the Communist propaganda activities if there are any functions to be noted which are controlled by the worldwide Communist apparatus for students?

Mr. FISHMAN. This is a very active part of their program and each year elaborate plans are made to bring these many students from as many countries into the Communist-controlled areas. Right at this moment these are the important meetings which are being held the balance of this year:

There is the Fifth Congress of the International Union of Students to be held in Peking, Chinese People's Republic, September 4 to 13, 1958. The agenda indicates that the meeting will discuss the developments in the international students movement and the contribution of the IUS and student organizations to defense of students' interests and the promotion of international student cooperation. This is one of the programs.

Between August 16 and 22, 1958, there will be an international conference on social and economic problems of students and worker students' organizations at Crakow, Poland. There will be an international seminar on problems and activities of the national student organizations in the Sudan. There will be another one in the democratic Republic of Germany. There will be another one in Sinai, Rumania, an international seminar of student editors, and another one in the German Democratic Republic, and the last one here mentioned, July 23 to 30, international seminar on Russian language and literature, in Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. In addition to these seminars, to the conferences, does the Communist apparatus sponsor international students' sporting events, checker events or chess events and the like?

Mr. FISHMAN. There is one that is now being held, one being sponsored July 5 to 20 in Bulgaria. This is a poster which advertises the event.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, you just mentioned a moment ago a situation in Germany. Did you have occasion in the course of your studies with the security officers in the friendly European countries, to get an idea about the Communist propaganda which is disseminated in those countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. It was very interesting to learn of the activity of the East German Communist group to infiltrate and to make its mark on the student and youth in West Germany. I was told that millions of individually addressed mail packages containing Communist propaganda are seen every month, coming from the East Berlin area into the West Berlin area.

I have obtained, on a confidential basis, and there is available for the committee, the actual statistics and it is revealing to see how much of an effort is being made to convince West Germany of the fact that they are being taken advantage of by the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Fishman, would you kindly tell us about the pen-pal program which you have discussed with us informally?

Mr. FISHMAN. Both of the student groups have set up a system of exchanging addresses with people in the various countries and in each issue of these 2 magazines they list 50 to 100 names and addresses of students around the world, including the United States.

The theory, of course, is that if you write and exchange your views you have that much more opportunity to know what is going on in the world. I think that the real purpose behind it is to obtain as many addresses as they possibly can in the United States to send this propaganda material to.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us a word about the legitimate organizations, non-Communist organizations which the Communist student organizations are trying to woo or latch onto or identify themselves with?

Mr. FISHMAN. Well, the World Federation of Democratic Youth had its inception with a very proper type of organization, the WAY, the World Association of Youth. They have since attempted to divorce themselves from this group, and the current publications try desperately to show that this initiating organization was actually a destructive type of organization.

In addition, of course, as I have mentioned previously, both the IUS and World Federation of Democratic Youth list among their associated memberships the YMCA, for example, and also many other proper student organizations around the world.

Mr. ARENS. So the record may be clear, the YMCA has undertaken to cause this identification to be dissolved; has it not?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. As a matter of fact, in many European countries the student groups, the proper student groups have issued printed statements and disseminated these statements as widely as possible, indicating that they never intended to be associated with these Communist organizations, that they do not attend their meetings, or their conferences, and actually want no part of it.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Fishman, in the abbreviated time which we have had here, because of the fact that we were not able to sit this morning, we have tried to cover the principal highlights of your testimony. You have in private consultations supplied the committee through its staff with considerable information, statistical and otherwise, on a confidential basis, is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any other principal points which you should like to cover in your public testimony at this time?

Mr. FISHMAN. We have, as you know, made some attempt to bring some examples of the type of material which is currently being sent to the United States; however, I believe that most of this can be covered in my report to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps you can take just a few minutes of the committee's time at this time to give the public record here the highlights of the content of some of this material.

Mr. FISHMAN. In *World Student News*, volume 12, 1958, which is one of the mainstays of the International Union of Students, comment is made about Colombia and one of the suggestions for the Colombia students is to—

Mr. WILLIS. What page is that?

Mr. FISHMAN. This is page 20-21.

Mr. WILLIS. Go ahead.

Mr. FISHMAN (reading):

to proclaim as free countries in Latin America the Guianas, Belize, Puerto Rico, Curacao, and all the other territories occupied by the colonialist countries.

To demand from the Government of the United States of America that it cease to send war supplies to the Latin American tyrants who use these arms to murder students, workers, and peasants, at the same time perpetuating themselves in power against the will of the people.

Mr. ARENS. So the record may be clear, that is part of the propaganda that is being beamed into the South American countries by the Communist apparatus; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct. On the back of this publication I would assume we have some 100 or 150 pen friends, names and addresses of people who would like to exchange correspondence.

I would like to also point out that *World Student News*, which is a well prepared periodical, indicates that subscriptions are a dollar a year. In other words one may obtain a copy each month for the small sum of \$1 a year, hardly the cost of the paper on which it is printed.

As to this publication, it is interesting to note some of the highlights, the way in which such things are presented. On page 32 of this publication which is addressed, of course, to all students, it says [reading]:

Just think about it. In your college how many students read this magazine every month? Is it enough? We know that in some cases a high proportion of students see it but there are many other student centers where only a handful get WSN regularly. Because of this a great mass of students are uninformed or misinformed about many important things. An enlightened rank and file is essential to insure more progress at top student level and to bring the world student community together.

There are many publications here dealing with the atom bomb. Here are posters indicating an "appeal to the students of the world," which students are asked to post in their schools. It is an appeal. [Reading:]

Fellow Students of the World—of Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas and Australia:

We students everywhere cherish peace. We shall inherit the great achievements of culture and science in the full knowledge that there is now before us the prospect of a brilliant future for mankind.

A grave danger confronts the perspective of peace and prosperity. However, a danger created by the preparations for atomic war. The tremendous development

of nuclear weapons, the fantastic increase of their destructive power and, above all, the endless continuation of the nuclear weapons race represent an ever-present threat to world peace.

It goes on to demand:

THE PROHIBITION OF THE PRODUCTION AND USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Let us oppose the installation and expansion of foreign military bases with nuclear weapons.

Fellow students, if we are all united against the danger of atomic war, we shall not be a small force.

We call upon all students and their organizations—international, national and others—to act now for peace.

This is printed in Leipzig, January 11, 1958, distributed widely throughout this country.

I could go on here for an hour on some of these.

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps you could summarize just 2 or 3 of the key publications concerning which you should like to comment.

Mr. FISHMAN. I think I mentioned here and brought out the efforts made to convince students of the significance of attending these conferences. Letters that are sent to many student organizations are interesting reading. One here discusses this international seminar on peaceful uses of atomic energy which is to be held in Moscow August 1 to 8, 1958. The theme, "Youth and the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy," the organizers, the Committee of Soviet Youth Organizations, and it is to be held at Moscow University.

The letter which is distributed with this printed material explaining the meeting reads:

Enclosed is brief information on the seminar to be held this summer which our federation is actively supporting.

The letter is on the letterhead of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. It continues:

Perhaps you have some ideas on the best way to use this material to encourage young people in your field of activity to participate. We think it is very important that your country be represented.

Please inform us of your plans and the possibilities that you foresee.

With best wishes.

This is addressed to all student organizations at the colleges and universities in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, may I make a comment in the form of a question, so that this record is clear?

The legislation which the chairman of this committee has introduced provides that this material ought to be labeled Communist material.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. It is most significant in the case of this student material because it is printed in such a way and prepared in such a way that it seems to emanate from other foreign student groups.

Mr. ARENS. Now, so the record may be clear, the Foreign Agents Registration Act requires the registration with the Department of Justice of a person in the United States who distributes Communist propaganda as the agent of a Communist principal abroad; isn't that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. It also requires that the Communist propaganda itself be labeled as such before it is distributed; isn't that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. But all of this material concerning which you have been addressing yourself today comes in without labeling and without registration; isn't that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. I just wanted the record to be clear on the issue which your testimony presents.

Now, would you kindly proceed for the next few minutes to give us the highlights of the contents of 1 or 2 other typical publications?

Mr. FISHMAN. As I mentioned before, this propaganda machine omits no angle. Several months we noted quite a number of individually addressed envelopes sent to younger students. It was apparent that there had recently been quite an effort made in the students' publications to obtain participation in what was referred to as a sputnik quiz, and this letter reads:

Thank you for taking part in the sputnik quiz. Enclosed is the sputnik badge we promised you. In addition, we are sending you, under separate cover, a tourist booklet with information and pictures of many points of interest on tourist routes in the U. S. S. R.

We will send you a copy of our summer program schedule as soon as we get it back from the printers.

If you have any questions on life in the Soviet Union or requests for music, let us know and we will be happy to comply.

Mr. ARENS. This is an individually addressed letter to some student in the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes. It contains some postcard pictures and also a sputnik badge.

Mr. ARENS. From what countries does this letter emanate?

Mr. FISHMAN. From Moscow, U. S. S. R. This is a sputnik badge that you might like to have, and a couple of photographs.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another comment or so you would like to make, Mr. Fishman?

Mr. FISHMAN. It is interesting to observe an example of the first sample batch of booklets that is sent to any student organization or young group in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Let the record be clear on this point. Does this material which you now have your hand on, which is being destined to a student group in the United States, anywhere in the material say "This is Communist; we are part of the conspiracy"?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. You see this is an instruction and information type of material and one may presume that the material, since it deals with the Soviet Union, comes from that country. Of course there is no statement as is required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

This package contains a book entitled "Moscow," which gives street routes and the same type of information that a tourist might find in any country or any city visited.

Then there are pamphlets entitled "Lenin Central Museums," "Siberia Hydropower Project," "The Status of Women in the Soviet Union," "U. S. S. R. Facts and Figures," "Soviet Electric Power," "What Soviet Power Gave the Working Class," "How Soviet People Live," "Soviet Industry," "Soviet Cultural," "What Soviet Power Gave the Workers' Families," "Soviet Age," "The Soviet Family Budget," "U. S. S. R., Land of Working People," and a book entitled "The Land of Soviets."

Mr. ARENS. To what group is all this destined, Mr. Fishman?

Mr. FISHMAN. This is the type of package which would go to students who indicated in any way any interest in the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. Is there an addressee on that particular package?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes. This is addressed to a college in Massachusetts.

Mr. ARENS. And there are similar packages addressed to schools and colleges over the country?

Mr. FISHMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. ARENS. And did that particular package emanate from a non-Communist country?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And all packages of like characterization would be completely beyond the pale or purview of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right; under its present interpretation.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any further comment that you would like to make or any other point which we may not have covered in this highlighting of your testimony?

Mr. FISHMAN. I don't think so. I think I covered most of it. There is a good deal of other material here, a lot of exhibits which I have picked up.

Mr. ARENS. You are in the process now, at the request of the chairman of this committee, of preparing an extensive, detailed report for him and for the committee; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you say that this type of material you are telling us about is coming into the United States now at an accelerated rate over, say, what it was coming in some months ago when you testified in Buffalo?

Mr. FISHMAN. I can only repeat the testimony I then gave the committee. I think we showed that on the average there was an increase of between 25 and 30 percent each year, and on this same estimate, of course, we believe that there has been a comparable increase in this material. Of course, this is a fairly new program, this approach to the students. This is an attempt to arouse them to take an interest in what is explained as student life.

Mr. SCHERER. I was referring to the total amount of Communist propaganda coming into the country, whether it is coming in now at an accelerated rate?

Mr. FISHMAN. I definitely say it is on the increase.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, you told us of the millions of students who are contacted by this Communist propaganda over the world. How many individual organizations are allied with the international Communist operation?

Mr. FISHMAN. So far as the material which is published here, claim is made that the World Federation of Democratic Youth, for example, is allied with student organizations in 97 countries.

Mr. ARENS. How many organizations in the 97 countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. I doubt very much whether they are listed. We know that covering the United States they omit no college or student group.

Mr. ARENS. Every college and student group or virtually every college and student group in the United States is a recipient of this type of material, is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. How many of the individual students in the colleges are interested in this movement, or make any effort to take part in it, we would not know.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that we have only tried to cover the highlights of Mr. Fishman's testimony today, because as you well know, he is in the process of preparing an extensive and detailed report to yourself and to the members of the committee. We didn't want at this time to burden the committee with all the details. We thought it would be profitable to have the highlights presented in public session.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. Fishman, we congratulate you on the job that you have done and welcome you back home.

Can you tell me whether or not any of these packets are sent in compliance with requests?

Mr. FISHMAN. The only material here which I think was sent pursuant to request was this latest piece of material I read, this answer to the sputnik quiz. I would assume that in every case someone in this country answered the quiz and received this badge. But apart from that type of thing, all of this other material, I would say that 99 percent of it is sent unsolicited.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us just an indication, if you are not violating confidence in doing so, of the aggregate number of people on the list which you supplied this committee on a confidential basis?

Mr. FISHMAN. I think we covered one area of one specific part of the United States, one State, I think, and there were some thousands of names on that list.

Mr. ARENS. And because of reasons which are obvious you did not feel we should make that public at the present time?

Mr. FISHMAN. Since the material is sent unsolicited, we think it would be violating a confidence to give the name of the individual organizations.

Mr. ARENS. Thousands in just one little section of the country?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Just one sampling list, regular recipients of the student Communist propaganda material?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. WILLIS. In fact you said that covers only one State of the Union?

Mr. FISHMAN. One State.

Mr. WILLIS. Or part of a State of the Union?

Mr. FISHMAN. In connection with the investigation we are making, it just covered the one State.

Mr. SCHERER. One question.

Does any of this material you have been talking about contain any advertising?

Mr. FISHMAN. None.

Very few periodicals published in the Soviet Union contain any advertising at all, other than soliciting interest in the publication or subscription information.

Mr. SCHERER. And practically the entire cost of the material had to be subsidized by somebody?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you any idea who subsidizes it?

Mr. FISHMAN. It is obvious from the material itself, from the subjects covered that this is all one part of the general Soviet propaganda machine.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Fishman.

Mr. WILLIS. Just one question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. Under what class of mail does this material enter?

Mr. FISHMAN. Fourth class.

Mr. WILLIS. Fourth class?

Mr. FISHMAN. Parcel post, if it comes in packages.

Mr. WILLIS. Does the Post Office Department run in the red on that class?

Mr. FISHMAN. No; but it has the costs of handling and transportation.

Mr. WILLIS. So that in addition to the subsidy from those who pay for the printing and sending of these packages, it can be said that indirectly the taxpayers are absorbing part of the costs?

Mr. FISHMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. WILLIS. To distribute this to the students and so on?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Fishman.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, as soon as Mr. Fishman has assembled the material there, will be Mr. Sam Pevzner.

Mr. Sam Pevzner, please come forward.

Mr. Pevzner, would you kindly come forward now, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand, sir.

Stand up, please.

Mr. PEVZNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. PEVZNER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SAM PEVZNER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, DAVID REIN

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. PEVZNER. Sam Pevzner, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Would you spell your name, please, so we have it correct in the record?

Mr. PEVZNER. P-e-v-z-n-e-r.

Mr. WILLIS. A little louder, please.

Mr. PEVZNER. P-e-v-z-n-e-r.

My occupation, free-lance writer.

Mr. ARENS. And your residence, please, sir.

Mr. PEVZNER. 4 West 93d, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. PEVZNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. PEVZNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. REIN. David Rein, 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Pevzner, where are you employed?

Mr. PEVZNER. I state I am a free-lance writer now.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed? Where do you do your work?

Mr. PEVZNER. Self-employed, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you last employed prior to your free-lance writing occupation?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. PEVZNER. On the grounds of the first amendment and ninth and tenth amendments and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee where you were last employed you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. PEVZNER. I already stated my point.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully submit the witness be ordered and directed to answer this last principal question.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think he has invoked the fifth amendment. Did he?

You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. PEVZNER. My answer is that I refuse to answer the question on the grounds of the fifth amendment, not testifying against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Were you in the recent past connected with a publication known as Jewish Life?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been in the recent past connected with Progressive Jewish Life, Inc.?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to lay before you, if you please, sir, a photostatic copy of a sworn statement under date of September 18, 1956, required under the postal laws which refers to an organization known as Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., publishers of a monthly publication known as Jewish Life, on which are listed the names of three officers, Albert E. Kahn, president, Louis Harap, secretary, and Sam Pevzner, treasurer.

I should like to have you examine that document and tell the committee whether or not that document is a true and correct copy of a document filed by you or to your certain knowledge by your associates, and whether or not it sets forth the facts with reference to the publication Jewish Life?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds as previously stated.

(Document marked "Pevzner Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you been connected in the course of your writing career with a publication known as the New Order?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of a masthead of a publication known as the New Order, in which the editor is listed as Sam Pevzner, P-e-v-z-n-e-r. The New Order was published at one time by the International Workers Order.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee, if you please, sir, whether or not that document truly and correctly identifies your one-time status with that publication.

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the first amendment, interference with the freedom of the press, and on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Pevzner Exhibit No. 2," retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been an author of certain publications for the Young Communist League of America?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you, if you please, a thermofax reproduction of a yearbook of the Young Communist League of America, in which appears the name of Sam Pevzner, national secretary, Youth Division of the IWO. Kindly look at that document and tell this committee whether or not that truly and correctly describes your status with that organization.

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Pevzner Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been on the managing board of a publication called *The Champion*?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of a masthead of *The Champion*, in which a person known as Sam Pevzner is listed as a member of the managing board of the publication.

Kindly look at that and tell us whether or not that refreshes your recollection and whether or not that truly and correctly reflects your status with that publication.

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Pevzner Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the record at this time show the official citation of *The Champion* as an official organ of the Young Communist League and also of the International Workers Order as determined by the Committee on Un-American Activities, reflected in the Guide to Subversive Organizations, page 99.

Where were you last employed, Mr. Pevzner?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been presently employed as a free-lance writer?

Mr. PEVZNER. Since January 1, 1958.

Mr. ARENS. And for what publications do you write?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you use any name other than your own—a nom de plume?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse that on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been known by any name other than the name Sam Pevzner?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you since you began your career in January 1958 as a free-lance writer used any name professionally other than the name Sam Pevzner?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us at the present time whether or not any of the entities, constituent parts of the International Workers Order, are still functioning?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds as previously given.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Pevzner, we know that the International Workers Order, and it is a matter of public information, was technically dissolved by the State of New York some few years ago on the ground that it was not in truth and in fact a bona fide insurance organization but was an arm of the Communist Party. You can help this committee and help your Government if you can tell us the names and identifications of any of the presently existing entities which were previously part of the International Workers Order.

Would you kindly do so?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been a national youth director of the International Workers Order?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of a page from the Fraternal Outlook, publication of the one-time International Workers Order, in which appears a photograph of a person identified in the publication as Sam Pevzner, formerly a national youth director. Will you kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of yourself?

Mr. PEVZNER. Refuse to answer that on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Pevzner Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you been on the Executive Board of the International Workers Order?

Mr. PEVZNER. Refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been one of the leaders in the Communist May Day parades in the course of the last few years?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now, if you please, sir, the photographs taken in recent celebrations of the May Day parade, Communist celebrations in New York City, in which appear reproductions of your own physical appearance, one here at the microphone and another on the speakers' platform.

Kindly look at those documents and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not they present true and correct reproductions of yourself and whether or not you did participate in a leadership capacity in the May Day parade?

Mr. SCHERER. Is that this year, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. It was 1955, I believe.

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell this committee, if you please, what is the publication known as Jewish Currents?

Mr. PEVZNER. Refuse to answer that on the same grounds, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Jewish Currents?

Mr. ARENS. Jewish Currents, yes, sir.

I have here, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of a letter dated November 14, 1957, less than a year ago, addressed to, "Dear

Friend," with reference to an emergency conference on Jewish Currents held in New York City on November 9. The letter as it will show when it is read indicates that the conference was to discuss the future of this magazine called Jewish Currents. One of the authors of the letter is Sam Pevzner. There is a signature, "Sam Pevzner."

Kindly look at this document, which I am displaying to you, namely, the thermofax reproduction of the letter, and tell this committee while you are under oath whether you are the author of that letter and whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of your own signature?

Mr. PEVZNER. Refuse to answer that on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Pevzner Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, I lay before you a copy of Jewish Currents of March 1958, a few months ago, in which the editorial board appears, and according to the masthead of this publication, Jewish Currents, the name Sam Pevzner appears as a member of the editorial board.

Kindly look at this publication, the original publication, which I shall display to you, and tell this committee whether or not you are truly and correctly identified in that publication as a member of its editorial board.

Mr. PEVZNER. Refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Pevzner Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. Was that during the time you were a free lance writer, witness?

Mr. ARENS. A couple months ago.

Mr. SCHERER. I am asking the witness.

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment and first amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Have you in the course of the last year or so been a propagandist for the Communist Party in attacking the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. PEVZNER. Refuse to answer on the same grounds.

I will say as an individual I had my say about the Un-American Committee, and I agree with the New York Times and other instrumentalities in this country that the Un-American Activities Committee has outlived its usefulness and is doing more harm than good throughout the world to the United States. That is only a personal opinion of mine.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you received, since you have been a free lance writer, any compensation, directly or indirectly, from the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. In other words, has the Communist Party been paying you to say these things about the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a moment. Do you deny that you received compensation from the Communist Party for attacking the committee?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer, on the basis of the fifth amendment, which does not mean I am guilty—the fifth amendment was drafted to defend and protect the innocent.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you innocent of the inference I have made?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you an article from the Jewish Life, May 1957 issue, in which the chairman of this committee is attacked by yourself and in which the committee itself is attacked.

Kindly look at this article which I lay before you and tell this committee whether or not you are the author of the article.

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Pevzner Exhibit No. 8" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Pevzner, now I wish to lay before you a publication, Jewish Life, of April 1957, and in all earnestness solicit from you information with respect to certain cultural clubs which the Jewish Life in this article discusses.

May I read for the record the first paragraph of this particular article, beginning on page 32 of the April 1957 issue of Jewish Life entitled "City Committee of Jewish Clubs." [Reading:]

An event of importance to all progressive Jews took place when the New York City Committee of Jewish Clubs held its first annual conference on March 3. The City Committee of Jewish Clubs is the leading body of 12 English-speaking cultural and fraternal clubs in New York. The 58 delegates attending the conference heard Sam Pevzner, executive director of the City Committee, describe the beginnings of the club movement and the value of such organizations in the Jewish community. The clubs, he said, similar to many other organizations, "are deeply interested in the welfare of the Jewish people and in the solution of their problems."

First of all, would you tell us, Mr. Pevzner, what was it that you were an executive director of? It said you were executive director of the "City Committee." What were you executive director of? City committee of what?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the first amendment, which protects the right of free assembly and free speech and also on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Sir, can you tell us what are these 12 English-speaking cultural and fraternal clubs in New York?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Pevzner Exhibit No. 9" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are those 12 English-speaking and fraternal clubs in New York, which are described in this particular article, and the delegates which you were addressing controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend, sir, if you gave a truthful answer to the last principal question you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. PEVZNER. I already stated my answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the last question.

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment, which protects and gives the right not to be a witness against himself.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment, which protects the witness against bearing witness against himself. I can't make it clearer.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. Go ahead.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend and address this conference concerning which I have read from the April 1957 issue of Jewish Life?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is this an error? Was the Jewish Life publication in error when it said you were executive director of the City Committee and did so address this conference?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds as previously given.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Lautner?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. John Lautner has told this committee under oath that while he was a top-flight member of the Communist Party, he knew you, sir, as a member of the Communist Party and of the conspiratorial apparatus of the Communist Party. We should like to give you an opportunity now to deny that statement while you are under oath.

Do you care to avail yourself of that privilege?

Mr. PEVZNER. Well, from what I read I know Lautner is a low-flight human being, but I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Did he lie when he identified you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. What did you say about Lautner?

Mr. PEVZNER. I said my personal opinion—he said he is a high-flight American; I said he is a low-flight American, in my personal opinion.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know Lautner?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment, sir. I know I read about him.

Mr. SCHERER. You said you read about him. It is a fact you have done more than read about him; isn't it?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. You said you read about him.

I ask, Mr. Chairman, that you direct him to answer the question. He has opened the door. He wanted this committee to believe the only thing he knew about Lautner was what he read about him.

I am asking you if it isn't a fact you know Lautner personally, rather than just having read about him.

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Have you made contributions in the course of the last year or so to the Communist Daily Worker?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of a page from the November 10, 1957, Communist Daily Worker, in which they list the donations received by the Communist Daily Worker over a period of time. They list here that they have received \$50 from one Sam Pevzner. Would you kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not it truly and correctly represents the facts.

Mr. PEVZNER. I can't read it, sir. I mean I can't see. I can't make out the names.

Mr. ARENS. Right here where I am pointing.

Mr. PEVZNER. Up here?

Mr. ARENS. It says, "Sam Pevzner, \$50."

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Pevzner Exhibit No. 10" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently have an official connection with Jewish Life?

Mr. PEVZNER. I refuse to answer on the grounds I previously stated, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any questions?

Mr. SCHERER. I don't know. Counsel, did you ask the witness whether he is a member of the party at this moment?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. All right.

Mr. PEVZNER. Pardon me, sir——

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to me a tragic thing that somebody would take advantage of a fine people and bring the kind of criticism that must necessarily flow from your association with magazines that in no wise are connected with the Jewish people.

Call your next witness.

Mr. PEVZNER. I have dedicated my whole life to the interests of the Jewish people.

The CHAIRMAN. I know.

Mr. PEVZNER. And no one can question that, sir. And I think if this committee would interrogate about individual bombings of synagogues and among Negro homes they might be doing something in this country instead of investigating opinions.

The CHAIRMAN. Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the next witness will be Annette T. Rubinstein.

Will you kindly come forward?

Would you kindly stand while the chairman administers an oath to you?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN; ACCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, DAVID REIN**

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Annette T. Rubinstein, 59 West 71st Street, New York City. At present I am a free lance writer and a lecturer. I was a teacher.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. REIN. David Rein, 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed—is it Miss or Mrs.?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Miss.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Rubinstein.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Self-employed.

Mr. ARENS. What do you write?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Well, one of my most recent was *The Great Tradition in English Literature From Shakespeare to Shaw*. That is a 960-page history of English literature. I edited, *I Vote My Conscience*, letters and speeches and so on, of the late Congressman Vito Marcantonio. I wrote a book published by the *Journal of Philosophy, Realistic Ethics*, mostly in the field of literature, I would say.

Mr. ARENS. And where have you lectured or talked?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Oh, I have lectured and talked—I was until 1952 principal of the Robert Louis Stevenson High School in New York, and I have lectured in, I suppose, 500 women's clubs and temple sisterhoods and ladies' aid societies and philanthropic groups, cultural groups and so on, all over the country.

Mr. ARENS. Have you lectured at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Well, I think on that I am going to refuse to answer on the grounds that it is an invasion of privacy according to the first amendment and also on the grounds that no one need testify against herself under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you consider it an invasion of your privacy to ask you about these other groups to whom you have freely admitted you lectured?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. To ask the specific names of them, yes, sir, I would.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a thermofax reproduction of an announcement of the Jefferson School of Social Science for its courses of study, and on page 21 appears the name of Annette T. Rubinstein as instructor or professor of certain courses in that school in the fall course of 1956.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee whether or not that truthfully and accurately represents your status with the Jefferson School of Social Science at that time.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I regret that I must refuse to answer this on the same grounds that were previously given.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

Do you feel that you might be subjected to a criminal prosecution if you admitted your connection with that school?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. As I read the fifth amendment, it doesn't say anything about criminal. But it does say that no one need to testify against himself.

The CHAIRMAN. In a criminal prosecution. It does say criminal.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I would stand on the fifth amendment on that; yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. What is that Jefferson School?

Mr. ARENS. The Jefferson School of Social Science is a Communist-controlled school, and has been repeatedly cited as part of the Communist propaganda operation in the United States.

Miss Rubinstein, I lay before you now comparable announcements over the course of the last several years of the Jefferson School of Social Science in which Annette Rubinstein is listed as an instructor in several courses there.

Kindly look at these exhibits which I am now displaying to you, and tell this committee whether or not you are truthfully and accurately described in them as a member of the faculty of the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I am sorry, but I must continue to stand on my rights under the fifth amendment and first amendment to refuse to answer these questions.

(Documents marked "Rubinstein Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. What is the Sunday evening forum? Could you tell us about that? Could you tell us what the Sunday evening forum is?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Will you make that a more specific question?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

I have before me now a reproduction of the Communist Daily Worker of Sunday, May 4, 1958, in which a Sunday evening forum at Adelphi Hall is described. I will lay this before you in just a moment.

Among those who are going to be heard at this Sunday evening forum with reference to paths to socialism and Soviet economic progress is listed Annette Rubinstein.

Kindly look at this article which I am now displaying to you and see if that refreshes your recollection.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Just to correct the reading into the record, it says here that Annette Rubinstein is going to speak on four political playwrights—Shaw, O'Casey, Brecht, and Sartre.

But I am sorry. I must refuse to answer except for just reading from it to correct the title that you had read into the record.

Mr. ARENS. I am sorry if I gave the wrong characterization.

Does this Communist Daily Worker of Sunday, May 4, 1958, accurately describe you as one of the lecturers for some of these classes?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I am sorry, I must continue to stand on my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Rubinstein Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Victor Perlo?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you known him?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I have seen him for some years. I don't know him well, but I've seen about, I should say, 3, 4 years perhaps.

Mr. ARENS. What has been the nature of your acquaintanceship with him, please?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Social.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the extent of your acquaintanceship with him?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever served in a closed Communist Party meeting with Victor Perlo?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry, but obviously I must refuse to answer that on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, you said you knew Victor Perlo socially, did you not?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Socially, yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that the only way you know him, socially?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You did not know him then in connection with any Communist Party activities?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Well, as I say, any questions about Communist Party activities I must claim the protection of the first amendment for political privacy, and the protection of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. If you only knew him socially, then you should not hesitate to say that you did not know him in connection with any Communist Party activities.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry, on that question I will have to continue to stand on the protection of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been active in protesting the security screening by the Coast Guard of merchant seamen and longshoremen?

Perhaps I could refresh your recollection. You seem to be hesitant there.

I have before me a thermofax reproduction of an article in the Communist Daily Worker of March 16, 1956, in which Annette Rubinstein is listed as chairman of a public meeting to protest the Coast Guard screening of merchant seamen and longshoremen.

Kindly look at this article and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not that refreshes your recollection with reference to your activity in that enterprise.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry that I will have to refuse to answer this question as an invasion of privacy under the first amendment and under my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Rubinstein Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you been one of the speakers of the East Side Committee of American-Soviet Friendship in its rally tribute to the Red army in February 1944? Do you recall that?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I don't recall it. But, in any case, I would have to stand on the protection of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a thermofax reproduction of the announcement of that meeting in which Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein is listed as one of the speakers in the tribute to the Red army.

Would you kindly look at this and tell this committee whether or not that refreshes your recollection with reference to your activities in that enterprise?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry, but I will have to refuse to answer that under my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Rubinstein Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Is the "Dr." an accurate description of you there? Are you a doctor?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Oh, yes. I have a Ph. D. from Columbia University.

Mr. ARENS. What is your Ph. D. degree in?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Philosophy.

Mr. ARENS. When did you procure that?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. 1933.

Mr. ARENS. Would you just tell us the highlights of your employment since you procured your Ph. D. degree in philosophy from Columbia University?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Yes. Well, I taught philosophy at New York University. Well, that was just before. I taught from 1929 to 1931 or 1932 at New York University. Then in 1934 I became principal of the Robert Louis Stevenson School in New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a high school?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Well, it was a 12-year school. It began with kindergarten and went right up to high school.

Mr. ARENS. You were principal of it?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. 1934 to 1952.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist during any period of time that you were principal of that school?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Well, obviously I must refuse to answer that under my rights of privacy under the first amendment and the protection of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of the fact that you have told us all about your activities in school and teaching, why do you consider this question an invasion of your privacy?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. It is a question as to my political beliefs or affiliations. Obviously it is an invasion of my privacy.

Mr. ARENS. Aside from any political beliefs or affiliations, while you were principal of that high school in New York City or that school in New York City, were you under the discipline of the Communist Party?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. You mean was I a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I just said I refused to answer that question under my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Then proceed to tell us your next employment or occupation.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. In 1952 I resigned as principal and since then, the next 2 or 3—I completed this long history of English literature, The Great Tradition of English Literature from Shakespeare to Shaw, And then after that I—

Mr. ARENS. Was your resignation voluntary or involuntary?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. It was a voluntary resignation.

Mr. ARENS. Was it precipitated or caused or stimulated in any way by any element that you would like to tell us about?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. No.

Mr. ARENS. Was it because they were breathing hot on your neck?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Who's "they"?

Mr. ARENS. People who were trying to expose Communists in the public-school system in New York City.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. To begin with, this was not a public school.

Mr. ARENS. In a school system.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. It was a voluntary resignation.

Whatever I wanted to write—a book—I may have had other personal feelings about it, but it was a voluntary resignation.

Mr. ARENS. Did it happen to coincide with any governmental activity relating to Communists and Communist Party members who were in the teaching profession?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Not that I know of, of any specific nature.

Such activities as this committee or the Feinberg law in New York, and so on, had been going on for a long time.

Mr. ARENS. Did that have any connection with your resignation at all?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. No.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you engaged in writing this book?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Let me see.

It came out the beginning of 1954, I think, and then after that I was working on this posthumous collection of the late Congressman Marcantonio's papers and so on, which came out just about a year and a-half, 2 years ago, I guess. And now I am working on a history of American literature, which should come out in about 3 years.

Mr. ARENS. In the interim you have been active in offering a number of articles for Jewish Life, the Communist Worker, Masses and Mainstream, and the like, have you not?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I think I will have to claim the protection of the first and fifth amendments as to the specific periodicals for which I have been writing.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any non-Communist periodicals for which you have been writing in the course of the last several years?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I think I will have to claim the protection of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I have here—and I think, in the interest of economy of time, I will group them—a number of exhibits of articles in which Dr. Annette Rubinstein is listed as a speaker, chairman of various events, signer, promoter of various enterprises; one, Jury on Trial, the People of New York Must Protest Biased Juries, Dr. Annette Rubinstein listed as a speaker. Another one, about the same period of time—1949—where Dr. Annette Rubinstein is to be a speaker on Bill of Rights versus Trial by Jury. Another one, Women Fight Deportation Meeting, at which Dr. Annette Rubinstein is to be a speaker.

Another one in which a number of people in New York City requested, including Dr. Annette Rubinstein, reasonable bail for the 11 convicted Communists; a rally in 1950, in which Dr. Annette Rubinstein joins with a number of other people in protesting the suspension

of certain Communist teachers who had been suspended from their jobs. Another in which 150 women sign a plea for amnesty for the 11 Communists, including Dr. Annette Rubinstein. Another one in which a number of people, including Dr. Annette Rubinstein, author and literary critic, have a rally on behalf of Communist Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Kindly take a look at those seven exhibits. I see you have been glancing at them while I have been putting them on the table before you.

Tell us whether or not your activity in each of these enterprises is truly and correctly described in those published articles, copies of which I have laid before you.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I am sorry. I will have to claim the protection of the first and fifth amendments against identifying any of these particular events.

(Seven documents combined, marked "Rubinstein Exhibit No. 5," retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I should like to cover some of your activities as a propagandist for the Communist Party.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. That's not a question, I take it. That is your inference or assertion.

Mr. ARENS. Are you and have you been a propagandist for the Communist Party?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. On this I must claim the protection of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to call your attention, if you please, to the November 1948 issue of *Jewish Life*, in which an article appears by Dr. Annette Rubinstein entitled, "Twenty-five Years of the Jewish American Novel."

Kindly look at the reproduction of that article I lay before you, and tell this committee whether or not you are the Annette Rubinstein who authored that article, and whether or not you are truly and correctly described there.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I am sorry, I will have to refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Rubinstein Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I should like to lay before you, if you please, a thermofax reproduction of an article in the June 1955 issue of *Masses and Mainstream*, in which Annette Rubinstein is listed as the author of an article concerning *The Searching Light*, a book by Martha Dodd.

Look at this reproduction and tell us whether or not you are truthfully and accurately described there as the author of this particular article.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry, I shall have to refuse to answer this on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Rubinstein Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a thermofax reproduction from a publication called *Mainstream*, in which your name appears as a contributing editor. Kindly look at this document, issue of September 1956, and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are truly and accurately described.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry, I shall have to refuse to answer this on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Rubinstein Exhibit No. 8," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you, at any time, been an author of certain articles appearing in the Communist Daily Worker?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I shall have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you, if you please, a thermofax reproduction of the Communist Daily Worker of August 12, 1956, in which Annette T. Rubinstein is listed as the editor of a certain book. Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not you are truly and accurately described there.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Well, I have testified that I am the editor of I Vote My Conscience, which is mentioned there.

(Document marked "Rubinstein Exhibit No. 9" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you the author of an article appearing in Jewish Life entitled "A Garland for the Rosenbergs"?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry, I shall have to refuse to answer on the grounds previously given.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now an original copy of the Jewish Life of June 1957, in which appears an article, A Garland for the Rosenbergs, by Annette T. Rubinstein.

Kindly look at that publication as I now display it to you and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you were the author of that article?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I am sorry, I shall have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Rubinstein Exhibit No. 10," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you authored a number of book reviews in the Communist Daily Worker, including a book review on a book by Albert Maltz.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry, I shall have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Now would you kindly tell us a word about your candidacy for public office? Have you run for public office?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And were you a Communist when you ran for public office?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry, but you are asking the same question, and I must give you the same answer.

I ran for public office on the American Labor Party ticket. I ran for a number of offices. The most recent, I think, was for Congress.

Mr. ARENS. And when did you run for Congress on the American Labor Party ticket?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I think it was in a special election when Congressman Sol Bloom died. I think it was 1948, but I'm not quite certain. I ran against F. D. R., Jr.

Mr. ARENS. It wasn't 1949; was it?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. It may have been 1949.

Mr. ARENS. This perhaps will refresh your recollection.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Yes. It was the spring of 1949.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Miss Rubinstein, this committee is interested in an organization called the Fund for Social Analysis. Do you have any connection with that organization?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry, I shall have to refuse to answer that under the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I have here in my hand a reproduction of an article taken from *Mainstream* of just a month or so ago, April of 1958. I should like to read an excerpt from this article, and then display the entire article to you. [Reading:]

The Fund for Social Analysis has just been organized as an informal group of individuals interested in aiding research on problems of Marxist theory and its application, bringing together people who want to encourage such studies, and to provide financial assistance toward their production.

It goes on to describe the organization, the grants-in-aid that are being developed for the Fund for Social Analysis: address, 165 Broadway, New York. And among those who are listed here in this article on the committee on awards of the Fund for Social Action——

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Fund for Social Analysis.

Mr. ARENS. Excuse me. Fund for Social Analysis—is Annette Rubinstein.

Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not you are truthfully and correctly described there as a member of the committee on awards of the Fund for Social Analysis in New York City.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry, I shall have to refuse to answer this on the same ground.

(Document marked "Rubinstein Exhibit No. 11," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. The others who are listed here with you as members of this committee on awards, which is to make awards over the country for this Fund for Social Analysis, is Russell Nixon. Do you know him?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I am afraid I shall have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Russell Nixon has been identified before this committee under oath as a member of the Communist Party. Do you know that to be a fact?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. You tell it to me, and I don't doubt you.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not Russell Nixon is a Communist?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I'm sorry, I shall have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Another person who is listed here as a comember with you on the committee on awards of the Fund for Social Analysis is Frank Coe. Do you know Frank Coe?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I shall have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Another person who is listed here on this document as a member with you on the committee on awards of the Fund for Social Analysis is Irving Kaplan. Do you know Irving Kaplan?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I shall have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Another person who is listed here as a member of this committee on awards with you is Harry Magdoff.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I shall have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Harry Magdoff has been identified before this committee as a member of the Communist Party, a one-time member of the Communist Party. Do you know whether or not Harry Magdoff is a member of the Communist Party?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Another person who is listed with you as a comember of this committee on awards of the Fund for Social Analysis is Stanley Moore. Do you know Stanley Moore?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I shall have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Does the record reflect that I asked you with respect to J. Raymond Walsh? If not, I should like to ask you, Do you know J. Raymond Walsh who was a member of this committee with you?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. According to this publication, grants are being made by this committee on awards from \$500 to \$3,000 for various projects over the country. Would you be good enough to tell this Committee on Un-American Activities whether or not this is a true and correct statement with respect to the grants and awards being made by this Fund for Social Analysis?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I will have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the source of the income of this organization?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. As I think the record shows, I have refused to answer as to any connection with this organization or any knowledge of it.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend, if you told this committee whether or not you are connected with the Fund for Social Analysis you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I think the protection of the fifth amendment is clear, and that one does not have to point out in what way it might tend to work against one.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a speaker at a Carnegie Hall May Day celebration in April of this year, April 27?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Just a few weeks ago.

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I am sorry, I shall have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently a member of the Communist Party?

Miss RUBINSTEIN. I think you have already——

In any case, I shall refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that we conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions you desire to ask at this time?

Mr. WILLIS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 3:25 p. m. Wednesday, June 11, the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m. Thursday, June 12, 1958.)

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

—Part 9—

Student Groups, Distributors, and Propagandists

THURSDAY, JUNE 12, 1958

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:20 a. m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana (appearance as noted), and William M. Tuck of Virginia.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; and Frank Bonora, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Call your first witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Boris Cohen, kindly come forward, and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COHEN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF BORIS S. COHEN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, FRANK J. DONNER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. COHEN. My name is Boris Cohen, 185 Gramercy Avenue, New York 27, N. Y., commercial printer.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Cohen, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be convenient for you to keep your voice up a little bit? The acoustics in this room are rather poor.

Mr. COHEN. I will.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. COHEN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. DONNER. Frank J. Donner, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Cohen, would you kindly, for this record, spell your name so we have it correctly?

Mr. COHEN. Boris, B-o-r-i-s S. Cohen, C-o-h-e-n.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born, Mr. Cohen?

Mr. COHEN. Russia.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. COHEN. 1894.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. COHEN. 1906.

Mr. ARENS. Is Boris Cohen the name under which you were born or have you changed your name at any time?

Mr. COHEN. I was born under the name of Boris Cohen, but I am a citizen under the name of Benjamin Cohen.

Mr. ARENS. Have you gone under any name other than the name Boris Cohen during your adult life?

Mr. COHEN. No.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. COHEN. I own the Prompt Printing Press, Inc.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you owned the Prompt Printing Press?

Mr. COHEN. Twenty-five years last February.

Mr. ARENS. Isn't the Prompt Printing Press a corporation?

Mr. COHEN. Right.

Mr. ARENS. And you own the majority of the stock?

Mr. COHEN. Right.

Mr. ARENS. How many employees with the Prompt Printing Press?

Mr. COHEN. Today about 12.

Mr. ARENS. Where is the Prompt Printing Press located?

Mr. COHEN. 113 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell us, please, what is the label or bug of the Prompt Printing Press?

Mr. COHEN. The Allied Printing Trades Council label. Our number is 209.

Mr. ARENS. Do you also own or have you owned the New Union Press?

Mr. COHEN. I am the minority stockholder in the New Union Press.

Mr. ARENS. Give us just a word of description of the New Union Press.

Mr. COHEN. Commercial printing.

Mr. ARENS. What is the bug of the New Union Press?

Mr. COHEN. 412.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Prompt Printing Press print Political Affairs?

Mr. COHEN. It does.

Mr. ARENS. Whom do you contract for printing Political Affairs?

Mr. COHEN. The New Century Publishers.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that, Mr. Cohen?

Mr. COHEN. The New Century Publishers.

Mr. ARENS. Who in the New Century Publishers is the person with whom you deal in your negotiations for printing?

Mr. COHEN. Joseph Felshin.

Mr. ARENS. How do you spell it?

Mr. COHEN. F-e-l-s-h-i-n.

Mr. ARENS. Do you also print at the Prompt Printing Press, Jewish Currents?

Mr. COHEN. I do.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you printed Jewish Currents?

Mr. COHEN. Jewish Currents I think is a new publication, printing probably starting the beginning of this year.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be convenient for you to keep your voice up a little more, please, Mr. Cohen?

Mr. COHEN. I will.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us what is the volume that you print of Political Affairs?

Mr. COHEN. Today it is 5,750 copies.

Mr. ARENS. Do you actually circulate the copies or do you then turn them over to the editors of Political Affairs?

Mr. COHEN. To the publishers of Political Affairs.

Mr. ARENS. To the publishers. How many copies do you print regularly of Jewish Currents?

Mr. COHEN. Four thousand copies.

Mr. ARENS. And do you circulate those or do you cause those to be sent back to the publisher?

Mr. COHEN. To the publisher.

Mr. ARENS. Do you or have you also printed Jewish Life?

Mr. COHEN. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Jewish Life is no longer published?

Mr. COHEN. Right; no longer published.

Mr. ARENS. Was it succeeded by Jewish Currents?

Mr. COHEN. Right.

Mr. ARENS. What was the circulation or the number you printed of Jewish Life?

Mr. COHEN. About the same, which is 4,000.

Mr. ARENS. Whom did you contract for printing Jewish Life?

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Harap.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly give his full name?

Mr. COHEN. H-a-r-a-p.

Mr. ARENS. First name, please.

Mr. COHEN. I really don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he located?

Mr. COHEN. In the offices of Jewish Life.

Mr. ARENS. Where are those?

Mr. COHEN. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Do you also print Mainstream?

Mr. COHEN. Right.

Mr. ARENS. And how many copies of Mainstream do you print per month?

Mr. COHEN. Three thousand, five hundred.

Mr. ARENS. Do you turn your printed copies over to the publishers for their distribution as you do with your other publications?

Mr. COHEN. Right.

Mr. ARENS. Whom do you contract for the printing of Mainstream?

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Felshin of the New Century Publishers.

Mr. ARENS. Have you also printed the Party Voice?

Mr. COHEN. I do.

Mr. ARENS. That was published by what organization?

Mr. COHEN. The New York State Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. And whom did you contract for the printing of Party Voice?

Mr. COHEN. Recently it is Mr. William Weinstone.

Mr. ARENS. William?

Mr. COHEN. Weinstone.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you printed Party Voice?

Mr. COHEN. Quite a number of years.

Mr. ARENS. How many copies of Party Voice do you print?

Mr. COHEN. Two thousand, five hundred.

Mr. ARENS. Over the course of what time do you print 2,500?

Mr. COHEN. Lately there was 1 or 2 issues printed altogether—lately there was only one issue printed.

Mr. ARENS. When was that printed?

Mr. COHEN. In the month of February, I think.

Mr. ARENS. Is Party Voice published regularly?

Mr. COHEN. It has not been published for about 10 months or so.

Mr. ARENS. When was this recent issue published?

Mr. COHEN. I think it was in February or March, something like that?

Mr. ARENS. Do you publish or print the Worker?

Mr. COHEN. No; we don't.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever printed the Worker?

Mr. COHEN. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cohen, as to the title of this magazine, Jewish Currents, how do you suppose it got its title?

Mr. COHEN. I wouldn't know.

The CHAIRMAN. This is not an official Jewish publication; is it?

Mr. COHEN. I wouldn't know.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing in the publication to indicate that it expresses a Jewish viewpoint; is there?

Mr. COHEN. I wouldn't know. I am only a printer.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is a terrible thing that this sort of thing goes on because thousands of fine people are stigmatized needlessly just because somebody publishing a magazine is making capital out of a religion and a race of fine people. I think it is a dreadful thing.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Cohen, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COHEN. I am not now a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COHEN. I plead the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time in the course of the year 1958?

Mr. COHEN. I am not a member of the Communist Party since 1949.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of John Lautner?

Mr. COHEN. I saw his name in the press. I don't recollect——

Mr. ARENS. John Lautner testified before this committee that while he was a member of the Communist Party he knew you as a Communist. Was he in error on that?

Mr. COHEN. I plead the fifth on everything before 1949.

The CHAIRMAN. 1948?

Mr. DONNER. 1949.

Mr. COHEN. 1949.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Cohen, did your Prompt Press print this pamphlet, *Books on Trial, The Case of Alexander Trachtenberg*?

Mr. COHEN. From the label I would derive that we did.

Mr. ARENS. Did your Prompt Press print this publication, *Pittsburgh: Peace on Trial*, by Art Shields?

Mr. COHEN. I would not remember, but our label is on it.

Mr. ARENS. Did your Prompt Press print the publication, *Mr. President, Free Earl Browder*?

Mr. COHEN. From the label I would say yes; we did.

Mr. ARENS. Did your Prompt Press print this circular, *Prominent Citizens, Labor Leaders, Call to Elect Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., to the City Council*?

Mr. COHEN. By the label I would say we did.

Mr. ARENS. In these publications, which I have just displayed to you, do you recall whom you contracted for the printing of these publications?

Mr. COHEN. No; I wouldn't unless it is a publisher's name given on the publication.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a booklet entitled "*The Reign of Witches, the Struggle Against the Alien and Sedition Laws*," by Elizabeth Lawson, with an introduction by William L. Patterson.

Kindly look at that publication and tell this committee whether or not Prompt Press printed it.

Mr. COHEN. By the label I would say "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now, if you please, sir, *Voices for Freedom, #2*.

Kindly look at that document, published under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, and tell us whether or not your company printed that.

Mr. COHEN. Again, by the label, I would say, "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a document entitled "*The 5 Cent Fare in Danger*," published by the Civic Research Bureau in New York.

Kindly tell us whether or not your firm printed that publication.

Mr. COHEN. Again, by the label, I would say, "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. Here is a publication by Albert E. Kahn, *Vengeance on the Young, The Story of the Smith Act Children*. Kindly look at that and tell us whether or not you printed that publication.

Mr. COHEN. Again, by the label, I would say, "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a publication of the Metropolitan Music School, Inc., in New York City, which was recently cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-controlled enterprise.

Kindly look at that publication and tell the committee whether or not your firm printed that document.

Mr. COHEN. Again, by the label, I would say, "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you another pamphlet entitled, "Due Process in a Political Trial; The Record versus The Press, in the Foley Square Trial of the 12 Communist Leaders."

Kindly look at this document and tell the committee whether or not your firm printed it.

Mr. COHEN. By the label I would say "Yes".

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a publication dated April 1958, New World Review. Kindly look at this document and tell the committee whether or not your firm printed it?

Mr. COHEN. Yes, we did.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall with whom you contracted for the printing of this New World Review?

Mr. COHEN. Mrs. Jessica Smith.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not she is or ever has been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COHEN. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a booklet entitled, Film Sense. Kindly look at this document and tell the committee whether or not your firm prints it.

Mr. COHEN. By the label I would say "Yes."

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us while I am procuring additional exhibits to display to you, Mr. Cohen, the aggregate volume of business of Prompt Press per year?

Mr. COHEN. Today it is about \$125,000.

Mr. ARENS. What percentage of that business comes from Communist organizations and Communist fronts and what percent from non-Communist organizations and non-Communist groups?

Mr. COHEN. I would say, including all the publishers and the magazines, about 50 percent.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a pamphlet entitled "Joseph Stalin For Peaceful Coexistence, Postwar Interviews," under the auspices of the International Publishers, New York.

Kindly tell us whether or not your firm prints that.

Mr. COHEN. By the label, yes.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a book entitled, "Materialism and the Dialectical Method," by Maurice Cornforth, under the auspices of International Publishers, New York.

Kindly look at that document and tell the committee whether or not your firm printed that document.

Mr. COHEN. By the label, yes.

(At this point Representative Willis entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a booklet entitled, "The Income 'Revolution,'" by Victor Perlo, in collaboration with Labor Research Association. Kindly tell this committee whether or not your firm prints that.

Mr. COHEN. Yes; by the label, yes.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a series of documents: Murder at the Kemerovo Mines; Trotskyite Plotters at Work; Amnesty; Conspiracy To Strangle Labor; A Letter to Congress: Defeat the Anti-Labor Smith Bill; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Speaks to the Court; The Anatomy of McCarthyism; Milestones in the History of the Communist Party; On Guard Against Browderism, Titoism, Trotskyism; Pettis Perry Speaks to the Court; The Smith Act—A Threat to Labor; Socialism, the Road to Peace, Prosperity, and Freedom; Stand Up for Freedom;

The Steel Workers and the Fight for Labor's Rights; The Trucks Act, Michigan's Blueprint for a Fascist State; The Truth About the Communists; World Capitalism and World Socialism; The "Free Press"; and How To Protect Yourself From the Atom Bomb.¹

Kindly, if you please, sir, glance at those documents and tell this committee whether or not your firm prints the booklets I have named for you.

Mr. COHEN. All these carry the label. I would say we have printed them.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell the committee, if you please, sir, what is your best judgment or estimate as of the moment as to the total volume of these publications which your firm prints a year, or say in the last year.

Mr. COHEN. The total volume outside of the periodicals is almost none. No publications have been issued last year, maybe with the exception of 2 or 3, to my memory, outside of the regular periodical publications.

Mr. ARENS. What is the total volume of your publications per year?

Mr. COHEN. I gave you the figure before. I never made a total of the sum of the circulation of every paper that was printed.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly give us just a word of characterization again on this New Union Press?

Mr. COHEN. The New Union Press is a printing job; does commercial work and prints for whatever work it can get.

Mr. ARENS. You said a few moments ago that 50 percent of your business is with Communist Party groups, Communist fronts; is that correct?

Mr. COHEN. We don't separate it in that particular fashion; 50 percent is what you would call Communist works. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any registration with the Department of Justice by the Prompt Press?

Mr. COHEN. No.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any labeling on any of this material which we have characterized as material published for the Communist Party and for the Communist front groups, any labeling to indicate that it is being disseminated by Communist fronts?

Mr. COHEN. I have no idea. I don't know what you are talking about.

Mr. ARENS. In any event, you do not register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, do you?

Mr. COHEN. We are not publishers. We are only commercial printers.

Mr. ARENS. And there is no bug indicating that the publications are Communist or Communist front publications, is there?

Mr. COHEN. There is none that I know of.

Mr. ARENS. Does the New Union Press function as a subordinate corporation or unit to the Prompt Press, or is it an independent corporation?

Mr. COHEN. It is an independent corporation.

Mr. ARENS. Where is it located?

Mr. COHEN. 119 or 113 Fourth Avenue.

Mr. ARENS. Is there an exchange of personnel between the Prompt Press and the New Union Press?

¹ Publications referred to marked "Cohen Exhibits Nos. 1-33" and retained in committee files.

Mr. COHEN. No. Each one has its own staff.

Mr. ARENS. And you are a minority stockholder?

Mr. COHEN. Right.

Mr. ARENS. Do you hold an office?

Mr. COHEN. I do.

Mr. ARENS. What is your office?

Mr. COHEN. Treasurer.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been treasurer of the New Union Press?

Mr. COHEN. For the entire existence of the New Union Press.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time has that been?

Mr. COHEN. 15-20 years, something like that.

Mr. ARENS. That is in the same building as the Prompt Press?

Mr. COHEN. That is right. It is on the same floor.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the president of the New Union Press?

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Leichtman.

Mr. ARENS. And his first name, please, sir?

Mr. COHEN. Carl.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly spell his last name for us?

Mr. COHEN. Leichtman. L-e-i-c-h-t-m-a-n.

Mr. ARENS. Is he also the majority stockholder of the New Union Press?

Mr. COHEN. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Who are the other principal officers of the New Union Press?

Mr. COHEN. None.

Mr. ARENS. Does the New Union Press print, as you have said the Prompt Press does, considerable work for the Communist Party and for Communist front groups?

Mr. COHEN. The New Union Press is an independent corporation which seeks for work and bids for whatever they get.

Mr. ARENS. What percentage of the work for the New Union Press would you estimate is done for Communist front groups or the Communist Party?

Mr. COHEN. Very little.

Mr. ARENS. Did the New Union Press print this document for the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, a call to a conference?

Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not the New Union Press printed it.

Mr. COHEN. The only thing I can tell by this document is the fact that it carries the label 412.

Mr. ARENS. And is that the label of the New Union Press?

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Used by the New Union Press?

Mr. COHEN. Right.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us, if you please sir, whether or not the New Union Press printed this document, Proceedings—New York State Model Legislature of Youth, January 28-30, 1938, held at College of the City of New York, under the auspices of American Youth Congress.

Kindly look at that and tell us whether or not it was printed by the New Union Press.

Mr. COHEN. That is kind of an old document, 1938, but it carries the label 214.

Mr. ARENS. Would you say it was printed by the New Union Press?

Mr. COHEN. I would.

Mr. ARENS. I have here a publication of the Jefferson—

Mr. COHEN. By the way, on the previous one, I think the label was 214—it was not 412—therefore this was not printed by the New Union Press. I am sorry.

Mr. ARENS. The document, Proceedings—New York State Model Legislature for Youth, was not printed—

Mr. COHEN. Yes; 214. That is not the label of the New Union Press.

Mr. ARENS. Did the New Union Press have a label ever as this one?

Mr. COHEN. No; definitely not.

Mr. ARENS. All right. Thank you for clarifying that.

Did the New Union Press print this document, Jefferson School of Social Science, winter, 1956?

Mr. COHEN. 412—it is the New Union Press.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, sir.

I have here a document entitled, "National Committee to Defend Dr. W. E. DuBois and Associates in the Peace Information Center."

Kindly look at this document and tell the committee whether or not in your judgment it was printed by the New Union Press.

Mr. COHEN. It carries the label 412. It was probably printed that way.

By the way, on this previous document, New Union Press printed only the headline, not the circular.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, sir.

I have here several documents which I shall group together and display to you.

Another one is by the National Committee To Defend Dr. W. E. DuBois and Associates in the Peace Information Center; letterheads of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions; the National Non-Partisan Committee To Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders; and the publications, Due Process in a Political Trial; American Review on the Soviet Union, Special War Issue; In Fact; and Science and Society.

Kindly look at those and tell the committee whether or not they were printed by the New Union Press.

Mr. COHEN. They all carry the label 412, and they probably were printed—I mean they are printed by the New Union Press.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a publication entitled, "The Slavic American."

Kindly look at this document and tell the committee whether or not that was printed by the New Union Press.

Mr. COHEN. It carries the label 412 and the answer is probably the same.

Mr. ARENS. Finally, I lay before you a publication entitled, "Social Work Today."¹ Kindly look at that publication and tell the committee whether or not it is printed by the New Union Press.

Mr. COHEN. Yes; it carries the same label.

Mr. ARENS. Is the New Union Press registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

¹ All publications referred to retained in committee files.

Mr. COHEN. No.

Mr. ARENS. Does the New Union Press affix to any of the publications which I have just displayed to you prior to their delivery to the printer or to the publisher any indication that the publications are published under the auspices of either the Communist Party or Communist fronts?

Mr. COHEN. I do not understand the question.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any labeling affixed to any of these publications I have just displayed to you which you have said were printed by the New Union Press—any labeling indicating that these publications are publications of the Communist Party or of a Communist front?

Mr. COHEN. No; we do not label it, because in the case of New Union Press, as with every printer in every case, we do not read the text and we do not know whether it is the Communist Party or the Republican or Democratic Parties.

Mr. ARENS. What is the aggregate business of the New Union Press per year?

Mr. COHEN. About \$100,000.

Mr. ARENS. What percentage of that business comes from the Communist Party or from a Communist front?

Mr. COHEN. A very small percentage. I wouldn't say more than about 10 percent.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know of any other firm in New York City that prints Communist Party literature or Communist Party publications?

Mr. COHEN. I have not made any check of it.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. ARENS. Thomas J. Brandon, if you please, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BRANDON. I do.

Mr. FANELLI. Mr. Chairman, may I request that any photographs be taken just before or just after and not during the course of the proceedings?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS J. BRANDON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH A. FANELLI

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. BRANDON. My name is Thomas J. Brandon. I reside at 420 Riverside Drive, New York City. My occupation is motion-picture distributor.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Brandon, in response to a subpoena which was issued upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. BRANDON. I am. I do appear in that capacity.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. BRANDON. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. FANELLI. Joseph A. Fanelli, and I maintain offices at 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. And your employment, please, Mr. Brandon?

Mr. BRANDON. I am employed by Brandon Films, Inc.

Mr. ARENS. What is your connection with Brandon Films?

Mr. BRANDON. I am president of the company.

Mr. ARENS. How long has the company been in existence?

Mr. BRANDON. About 18 years.

Mr. ARENS. It is a corporation?

Mr. BRANDON. It is.

Mr. ARENS. And the office that you hold, please, sir?

Mr. BRANDON. Is the president.

Mr. ARENS. And who are the other principal officers?

Mr. BRANDON. My wife, Lillian Brandon.

Mr. ARENS. Her office, please?

Mr. BRANDON. Her office, vice president; and Edith Zornow, secretary.

Mr. ARENS. Do you own the principal stock and majority stock of the corporation?

Mr. BRANDON. I do, yes.

Mr. ARENS. What is the nature of the business of Brandon Films, Inc.?

Mr. BRANDON. Brandon Films Co., is a motion-picture library. It is a distributor of films. We rent films and we sell films.

Mr. ARENS. What is the total volume of business at Brandon Films?

Mr. BRANDON. Well, at the present time, approximately \$150,000 a year.

Mr. ARENS. Is Brandon Films, or are you registered as a foreign agent under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. BRANDON. We are not, and I am not.

Mr. ARENS. Does Brandon Films import into the United States foreign films?

Mr. BRANDON. Some.

Mr. ARENS. From what countries does Brandon Films import foreign films?

Mr. BRANDON. Import, direct import, Ireland, Denmark, Belgium, France, or Japan, excuse me.

Mr. ARENS. Does Brandon Films handle films which are brought into the country from Iron Curtain countries?

Mr. BRANDON. Some.

Mr. ARENS. And from what Iron Curtain countries does Brandon Films handle the films?

Mr. BRANDON. We handle some films that come from U. S. S. R. There are a few that come not directly to me, but they come from Poland, 2 or 3, and a couple from Czechoslovakia.

Mr. ARENS. By what route or device does Brandon Films procure these films which come from the Iron Curtain countries?

Mr. BRANDON. Counsel, it is not a device: a route.

Mr. ARENS. A route. I didn't mean anything surreptitious about it.

Mr. BRANDON. Not at all. It is well known in the trade. I hold a contract with a company called Artkino Films, Inc. They import such films.

Mr. ARENS. Artkino specializes in importation of films from Iron Curtain countries, does it not?

Mr. BRANDON. I think so.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a contract with Artkino?

Mr. BRANDON. I do.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you had a contract with Artkino?

Mr. BRANDON. Oh, I have had a contract with them since 1954.

Mr. ARENS. Artkino is registered as a foreign agent under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, is it not?

Mr. BRANDON. It is.

Mr. ARENS. Do you as one who contracts with Artkino, cause to be affixed any place to the films which you procure via Artkino from behind the Iron Curtain, any indication that these films are labeled in accordance with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. BRANDON. I purchase films from them and I carry their insignia exactly as given to me. In fact, I don't put my name on them.

Mr. ARENS. I don't believe you quite gave me a response to my question.

Mr. BRANDON. Would you clarify it for me?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

You have told us now that you contract with Artkino which in turn procures films from behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. BRANDON. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you, on the films which you procure from Artkino, cause to be affixed to the films any labeling as required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. BRANDON. I do.

Mr. ARENS. What do you cause to be affixed there?

Mr. BRANDON. A short little frame which I haven't read recently, but it is their label, the label which they are required to have under certain circumstances and for certain types of films, but I take their films with that label, which they are required, and I order copies of that film with their label, and therefore the films which I sell or rent have the identification on, which they are obliged to carry.

Mr. ARENS. With what firms, theaters, in the United States do you contract for the display of films imported by Artkino into the United States from behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. BRANDON. No theaters, because we purchase from them films which—

Mr. ARENS. By "them" you mean by Artkino?

Mr. BRANDON. By Artkino—which they have already distributed to theaters themselves or which they have sold in some cases to other companies which have distributed to theaters. I buy from them the right to rent out 16-millimeter, that is, small-size copies of these films which have appeared in many theaters, or, I don't know how many, but some theaters, and I then rent those out to whoever is interested.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly give us a little bit more detail on the groups, organizations, or persons to whom you rent or sell these films which you procure from Artkino which in turn procures them from behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. BRANDON. I will be glad to, to the best of my recollections.

The films which I procure from them and have an interest in are foreign language for those who are interested in that language, for those who are interested in the background of that country, and to some people who consider some of these films of high artistic quality, some of them.

Now, that naturally means that market is the Navy, the Army, any institution which is interested in studying foreign languages and backgrounds. There are only a few. And clubs and societies, film clubs, film societies, camera groups, which may be interested in the entertainment art quality of some of the pictures.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us the names of principal clubs and groups to which you rent or sell these films which you procure from Artkino, which in turn procures them from behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. BRANDON. Counsel, I have no objection to doing it, but I have to think for a moment of the names. I don't handle the actual bookings.

Mr. ARENS. The principal ones, please, sir.

Mr. BRANDON. There are no national ones. They are local film societies—the Film Society for Albuquerque, N. Mex., I have seen on the books sometime.

Mr. ARENS. What is the total volume of your business on the rental or sale of the films from behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. BRANDON. I would guess between 5 and 7 percent, counsel.

Mr. ARENS. That is 5 and 7 percent of \$100,000 a year?

Mr. BRANDON. You do me injustice—\$150,000.

Mr. ARENS. \$150,000 a year. What percentage of the handling of your Iron Curtain films is a rental as distinct from a sale?

Mr. BRANDON. The bulk of it is rental.

Mr. ARENS. How many films do you handle from behind the Iron Curtain in the course of a year?

Mr. BRANDON. We have in the catalog, and we have altogether—you have them, haven't you, Mr. Bonora—35 to 40.

Mr. FANELLI. Just answer the questions.

Mr. BRANDON. About 35 to 40 films from the Iron Curtain countries.

Mr. ARENS. Which you handle per year?

Mr. BRANDON. No, no. Which I handle and which I——

Mr. ARENS. You rent or——

Mr. BRANDON. Which I have available for me.

Mr. ARENS. Can you help us and give us an idea of the number of showings in the course of a year of these films from behind the Iron Curtain which you handle?

Mr. BRANDON. I would say of the 35 or 40 we have available—it varies with the times and the periods of the year, but I would guess it may be one a month or roughly one and a half a month.

Mr. ARENS. Of each one or——

Mr. BRANDON. Strike an average and say probably 30 or 35 showings in a month of all the films.

Mr. ARENS. Of all of the films exclusive—we are speaking now of behind the Iron Curtain——

Mr. BRANDON. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Those that originate behind the Iron Curtain.

Do you know of any other firms besides your own which contract with Artkino for films, including films from behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. BRANDON. Well, I don't know of any names directly, but I believe that Artkino has been selling films to other companies.

Mr. ARENS. You have no specific information?

Mr. BRANDON. Well, I don't.

Mr. ARENS. Do you process any domestic films developed by the Communist Party or by Communist fronts?

Mr. BRANDON. I do not.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Any questions?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lenvin, would you kindly come forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LENVIN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF NATHAN B. LENVIN

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LENVIN. My name is Nathan B. Lenvin, L-e-n-v-i-n. I am Chief of the Registration Section of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice, and I reside in Arlington, Va.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you occupied your post as Chief of the Registration Section?

Mr. LENVIN. Approximately 4 years.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, Mr. Lenvin, for the purpose of this record, a brief résumé of the principal provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, insofar as they apply to the dissemination in the United States of political propaganda.

Mr. LENVIN. The act is designed to acquaint the recipients of political propaganda with the identity and relationships of people who are responsible for the dissemination of the propaganda material, with foreign principals as defined by the act, so that they can appraise and evaluate the material in the light of the disseminator's relationships.

Mr. ARENS. Under the present interpretations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, is the agent of an agent of a foreign principal who disseminates Communist propaganda in the United States required to register?

Mr. LENVIN. Only in a limited sense, wherein it can be established that the agent is subsidized by a foreign government or foreign political party.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, in the instance of the gentleman who just preceded you on the stand, who contracts with an agent of a foreign principal and who disseminates in the United States foreign political propaganda, he is not required under present interpretations to register?

Mr. LENVIN. That is correct; unless we could establish that Artkino, with whom the contract was made, was in fact a foreign principal as defined by statute, in that it was subsidized by a foreign government or foreign political party.

Mr. ARENS. Are you familiar with the bill introduced by the chairman of this committee, H. R. 9937, which deals with, among other things, Communist propaganda and the registration of foreign agents?

Mr. LENVIN. Yes; I am.

Mr. ARENS. Would the provisions of the chairman's bill cope with this very situation which you have pointed out?

Mr. LENVIN. Not entirely. It does enlarge the provisions of the definition of the term, "foreign principal," so as to include a domestic organization which is substantially controlled, financed, directed, or subsidized by a foreign government or foreign political party.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the language is inadequate to meet the entire situation?

Mr. LENVIN. It is not a question, sir, of its inadequacy. Since this particular statute is designed to require the registration of persons who are in an agency capacity, this situation is not within the scope of the whole framework of the statute.

Mr. ARENS. The chairman's bill enlarges the definition of a foreign principal so as to include a domestic corporation which is substantially directed or financed by a foreign government. Is that not correct?

Mr. LENVIN. Directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized by a foreign government or foreign political party.

Mr. ARENS. At the present time, such a domestic corporation is not by present construction encompassed within the registration provisions of the Foreign Registration Act. Is that correct?

Mr. LENVIN. Well, no. It does not come within the definition of the term "foreign principal," so that an agent of such a domestic corporation as you have just described would not be required to register.

The CHAIRMAN. We are disturbed by not only this terrific problem, as I see it, but by the possibility of doing something that might eventually become a censorship, something that every member of this committee is very much opposed to. I hope that you will pay much attention to the language that is in this bill, because I am not thoroughly satisfied that the powers herein created, might not be abused. I would like to go into that phase of it at a future date. When we have a hearing on this section of the bill, we will call you, because I think that is terribly important.

Mr. LENVIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The country is being flooded, literally flooded at every port of entry with foreign propaganda, and at the same time in the United States there are people such as this witness who testified this morning, who are taking that same material and publishing it here.

It is not a question of censoring the material or determining whether or not the material requires registration as much as it is determining whether or not the disseminator's activities are substantially subsidized, dictated, or controlled by a foreign power. Of course, in that instance he would have to register.

But it is a very fine point, and I hope you will give it much consideration. We have been disturbed by it.

Mr. LENVIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not going to enact any legislation that will set up a committee of the Congress or the Attorney General as an authority to go into a printing house and say, "Look, you are publishing this, and in our judgment it is propaganda. Therefore, you have

violated the Foreign Agents Registration Act." It is not a very far cry from what we say in the bill to that very situation.

Mr. LENVIN. I just thought you might be interested, sir, in knowing that the Internal Security Act of 1950 does contain a labeling provision in it.

The CHAIRMAN. That language, I think, is not strong enough, because the Supreme Court, in its desire to invade the legislation field completely, will distort the meaning, I am sure, and for that reason I think that in our proposed legislation, we ought to make doubly sure that we are meeting this situation.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lenvin, in the instance which was developed in the testimony this morning, the witness has a contract with Artkino for the purpose of distributing in the United States films which Artkino procures from behind the Iron Curtain. Assuming for the sake of this question that Artkino is found to be a domestic corporation substantially directed or financed by a foreign government, then, under the provisions of H. R. 9937, the gentleman who appeared today, if he distributes those films, would have to register and cause them to be labeled. Is that correct?

Mr. LENVIN. Substantially, I would think you are correct, in that if we would find from the arrangements that—well, let me start off by saying that if you would find that Artkino is substantially directed, controlled, or financed by a foreign government, under the provisions of the bill, Artkino would then be a foreign principal. And if Brandon Films relationship with Artkino were such as to create an agency relationship, then he would be required to register.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information now as to whether or not Artkino is substantially directed or financed by a foreign government?

Mr. LENVIN. I do not.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we will adjourn at this time. The committee will stand recessed.

(Whereupon, at 11:20 a. m. Thursday, June 12, 1958, the committee adjourned, subject to call of the Chair.)

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